The Elections—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

November 18, 1950

China Before the U. N.

MacArthur Worries London

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

Mao Is Invited to Appear

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Democracy's Betrayal of Spain - - - - - - - *Lillie Shultz*

Union Shop in Pittsburgh - - - - - - - *Willard Shelton*

The N. A. M.'s Tax Plan - - - - - - - - *Keith Hutchison*

Bernard Shaw—Dancing Philosopher - *Joseph Wood Krutch*

Dangerous Thoughts - - - - - - - - - - *The Observer*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

TWO DAYS AFTER HIS MASSIVE ELECTION victory Senator Taft said, "Only an idiot would be an isolationist today." But while he rejected the isolationist label, the Ohio Senator made it plain that he had not softened his opposition to the Atlantic treaty and that he was very dubious about giving military and economic aid to Europe. Thus in the latest of the weekly columns he contributes to Ohio newspapers he attacked the Administration for committing the United States to rearming Europe "without the slightest public discussion or consideration" (where have you been these last two years, Mr. Taft?), even though the consequence might be the dropping of Soviet atomic bombs on American troops and the launching of World War III. "Is Europe our first line of defense?" he asked; "Is it defensible at all?" Yet though anxious about European commitments, Mr. Taft and his political friends seem to think that Formosa should be included in our Far Eastern first line, and shout for Asiatic policies which might easily involve us in war with both Russia and China. However their program may be described, we agree that it can hardly be called "isolationist." Indeed, it is even more idiotic than that, and we can well understand the despondence and alarm that the election results have caused in European circles. London and Paris are asking if there is to be a sharp reversal of American foreign policies, if it is to be 1920 over again. In our opinion that question skirts the real danger. The Middle Western primitives would find little support for a policy of abandoning Europe among either Eastern Republicans or Southern conservative Democrats. But while they are in accord on aid to Europe, the three groups together may well attempt to put more pressure on that continent than its delicate social, economic, and political structure can bear. In other words, what Europe has to fear is not the scrapping of the bi-partisan policy but its perversion.

*

THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST mission, expected by the end of this week, will mark a new phase of the struggle over Asia. Chou En-lai's announcement that his government would not discuss MacArthur's charge of aggression in Korea but would discuss its own charges of American aggression in Formosa, Manchuria, and Korea offers little hope of reasonable negotiation. However, a real desire to find a peaceful way out seems to be emerging both in Washington and Lake Success—if not in Peking or Tokyo. The dispatch of James Plimsoll, able Australian member of the new U. N. Korean Commission, to the Korean front is an encouraging sign that effort at a settlement will not wait upon either diplomatic or military victory. Behind the scenes, also, a struggle seems to be going on to impose a policy of moderation. General MacArthur is reported to have been put under strict orders to refrain from bombing Chinese military targets across the Manchurian border and the Yalu River power plants. It is also rumored that Secretary Acheson is disturbed over Senator Austin's handling of the Korean question before the Security Council. In a situation that calls for finesse Austin is uniformly heavy-footed and bombastic. If the first American delegate to the U. N. must be a Republican, it would be far better to give the post to the subtle, quick-thinking Mr. Dulles.

*

THE UNITED NATIONS WILL SOON FACE another grave issue—the abominable state of subjugation into which the people of Southwest Africa have been forced by the Malan government of South Africa. In a very impressive memorandum submitted to Secretary General Trygve Lie on October 30, the Reverend Michael Scott correctly points out that "the United Nations would undermine its position if it were to tolerate a dual standard of morality for East and West," condemning violations of human rights in Bulgaria and Hungary while ignoring them in the dependent areas. Speaking for the people of Southwest Africa, Mr. Scott demands that their traditional lands be returned to them and their tribal unity and social organization restored—the Hereros are still divided into eight different groups in Southwest Africa—that they be brought under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, and that their spokesman, named by Dr. Scott, be allowed to plead their case before the U. N. After the Trusteeship Committee took up the question of South Africa last year, Dr. Malan's Nationalist government frantically pushed its policy of *apartheid,* or separation of the white and non-white populations, and relegated the non-whites to a position of even greater inferiority than in the past. In his election campaign Dr. Malan virtually defied the

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 449
The Elections 451

ARTICLES

Mao Is Invited *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 452
Union Shop in Pittsburgh *by Willard Shelton* 453
Democracy's Betrayal of Spain *by Lillie Shultz* 455
Evolution Backwards. *Cartoon by David Low* 457
MacArthur Worries London *by Howard K. Smith* 458
High Stakes in Kashmir *by K. Rangaswamy* 459
Dangerous Thoughts *by The Observer* 460
Everybody's Business: The N. A. M.'s Tax Plan *by Keith Hutchison* 461

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Bernard Shaw—Dancing Philosopher *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 462
Portraits by Sitwell *by Ernest Jones* 462
The Dublin Joyce Knew *by Jacob Korg* 463
In Time of War *A Poem by Hayden Carruth* 464
Leave It to the A. M. A. *by Michael M. Davis* 464
Women in Early America *by Helen Mayer Hacker* 465
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 466
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 467

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 468

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 388 *by Frank W. Lewis* 468

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United Nations. He also defied the opinion of the International Court of Justice that Southwest Africa is still under an international mandate and that the Union of South Africa has no competence to change its status without the consent of the United Nations. Malan has offered a fighter squadron to "defend the cause of civilization in Korea" but has done everything in his power to demolish the cause of civilization in his own country.

✶

BEFORE HE WAS RATHER SUMMARILY unseated as the expertly publicized boss of the bookies in Los Angeles, Mickey Cohen had ordered a $20,000 custom-built Cadillac of the type made for White House use. This one, of course, had to be even more extraordinary. Guaranteed to stop armor-piercing bullets from hand weapons shot at any conceivable angle, its windows were nearly two inches thick and even the tires were bulletproof. A special feature, not found in the Presidential models, was the ease with which the windshield and rear vent windows could be opened quickly and wide. After this mobile fortress was completed, Mickey discovered that the state would not give him a permit for its use. For months it was kept in storage, and now Mickey, momentarily bereft of his empire, has announced that it is for sale. To date the only nibbles for it have come from Presidents Alemán of Mexico and Perón of Argentina. It should be possible for Cohen to sell the Cadillac to Franco who could reimburse himself out of the proceeds of the American loan he is so anxiously awaiting.

✶

AFTER SERVING AS A MEMBER OF THE editorial board of *The Nation* for more than thirteen years, first as managing editor and later as associate editor, Robert Bendiner has relinquished his post, as of this week, in order to engage in independent writing. His regular contributions to *The Nation*, especially in the field of national politics, have been outstanding, and his series of articles on the two Hiss trials attracted attention all over the country. It is unnecessary to say that this journal will miss his steady collaboration. Happily, however, as contributing editor he will continue to write from time to time on political and other questions.

✶

CORRECTION: Omitted words spoiled the meaning of a sentence in an editorial paragraph on Israel's Cabinet crisis in last week's issue. The sentence appeared as follows: "On the other hand, the ministers have accepted collective responsibilities, an important and necessary provision which will eliminate the public exploitation of different groups within the Cabinet." Its last words should have been: ". . . which will eliminate the public exploitation of differences by political groups within the Cabinet."

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The Elections

WE SUGGESTED in a pre-Election Day editorial that this year's voting would not, in its very nature, yield large generalizations. State and local issues, personalities, varying campaign efforts, intra-party feuds, and other factors prevail in these mid-term tests, which lack the polarizing effect of a contest for the Presidency. Certainly this was the case on November 7. There was, to be sure, little in the results for liberals to cheer about, but the sweeping inferences being gleefully drawn by politically interested analysts hardly stand up under inspection.

The first of these, naturally, is that the tide has turned; that at long last the country is swinging back to the Republicans, with the Grand Old Party due to enter the gates of glory come November, 1952. Certainly the Republicans scored gains, as the party out of power almost invariably does in mid-term elections. But a comparison with other years, especially 1946, indicates that the G. O. P. would do well to pitch its crowing to a minor key. In 1946 it rolled up gains of thirteen seats in the Senate and fifty-six in the House, to capture control of both chambers. Yet so far was this from being a sign of a return to Republicanism that two years later the Democrats recaptured Congress, elected a President, and won governorships from coast to coast. This year, with all the dissatisfactions over the Korean campaign, with all the fears, natural and generated, of a third world war, with all the hysteria unleashed by a rampant McCarthyism, the Republicans were able to gain only five Senate seats and probably not more than twenty-eight seats in the House, not enough to capture either. They were not even able to win one of two senatorships in the Republican state of Connecticut and were pressed hard to win in Pennsylvania. The tide will have to run stronger than that if they are to make the grade in 1952.

The second large, and we think erroneous, assumption being made on the basis of last Tuesday's figures is that, regardless of party lines, the country wants no more of the social legislation of the Fair Deal. On this score the experts point in particular to Illinois, Pennsylvania, Colorado, Utah, and Ohio. In the first two the Democrats were shorn of their top leaders in the Senate—Scott Lucas, the majority leader, and Francis J. Myers, the party whip. In Colorado, Senator Millikin did in fact take the measure of John Carroll, after a campaign fought cleanly along left-right lines. The same thing was true in Utah, where Elbert Thomas, one of the most valuable leaders in the Senate, lost to a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers. And Ohio, of course, gave Robert A. Taft the triumph of his career.

When a number of opposite results are placed against this array, however, it seems like a good deal less than a tidal wave of conservatism. In Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., strongly backed by labor, defeated Senator Donnell, next to Taft the unions' chief Senatorial target. Representative Monroney, running for the Senate in Oklahoma, crowned a vigorously liberal campaign with success against a preacher whose general line was that communism, socialism, and the Fair Deal were basically one and equally sinful. Connecticut voters not only preferred Brien McMahon to Joseph Talbot—the difference in prestige might have accounted for that—but, unless a recount shows otherwise, preferred Senator Benton, a Truman Democrat, to Prescott Bush, a Wall Street banker with social views to match. In fact, they wanted Benton enough to split their ballots, with Governor Bowles unhappily the victim of the state's traditional off-year Republicanism. What is perhaps even more illuminating, the Democrats managed to hold intact their House seats in states like West Virginia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, which normally shift back and forth between Presidential and mid-term elections. Connecticut, which elected no Democratic Representatives in the comparable years of 1942 and 1946, this year elected two. Ohio, which sent only three Democrats to the House in 1942 and four in 1946, this year sent seven—in spite of the heavy vote for Taft.

Without minimizing the impact of Taft's victory and the defeats for Lucas and Myers, we might point out a few of the circumstances that reduce their apparent significance as barometers of national feeling. Lucas, who, to begin with, was anything but a hero to the liberal and labor voters of Illinois, suffered acutely in Chicago, where he had to get the maximum vote, from the scandalous revelations about the Democratic candidate for sheriff in Cook County. Myers, defending his Senate seat against the colorful Governor Duff, was not expected to win in Pennsylvania, and the wonder is that he made as close a race as he did. As for Taft, it is our regretful conviction that the Democrats and the trade-union political organizations had a rebuke coming to them. To have taken a man of Joe Ferguson's obvious incapacity and presented his election as a test, to have imagined that labor's indorsement, accompanied by no other qualification for office, was enough to win the solid support of liberals, independents, or even of union members themselves, was to invite disaster. In a greatly modified degree the attempt to beat Governor Dewey with a relatively unknown candidate like Representative Lynch was the same miscalculation of public opinion. But it had little to do with the issue of conservatism versus the Fair Deal, as the gratifying vote for Senator Lehman so clearly showed.

One other false generalization, it seems to us, is that McCarthyism has been given the stamp of public approval. Largely this is based on the defeat of Senator Tydings in Maryland. It is perfectly true that the Repub-

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licans sought to blast Tydings out of office on the charge that he had "whitewashed" the State Department and denounced McCarthy as no other Senator had been excoriated in Congressional history. Fulton Lewis, Jr., was brought into the fight, not to mention McCarthy himself, to keep the fires burning. This may have been enough to defeat the veteran Senator, but what is generally not recognized is that Tydings completely lacked the ability to arouse the support that might have saved him. His record as an arch-conservative—Roosevelt once tried to purge him—kept the labor people from rallying to his side. Those who know the racial situation in Maryland are certain that Negro voters overwhelmingly opposed him on the ground of his dismal record in favor of segregation and against the FEPC. And, to top it off, the Senator was burdened with a running-mate whose record as governor was anything but a campaign advantage.

It is true that Helen Douglas's defeat in California was in good part due to the prominent role played by her opponent, Representative Nixon, in the Hiss case and in the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities generally. Nevertheless, Mrs. Douglas ran far ahead of James Roosevelt, who shared her ticket and against whom there was no charge whatever of "softness" toward Communists. In any case, to regard the result of these two races as a vote for McCarthyism is to overlook not only the unique aspects of the Maryland campaign but also the instances of anti-McCarthy candidates who did extremely well. McMahon shared with Tydings the honor of drawing up the subcommittee report that condemned the Wisconsin wild man; yet he won easily. Herbert Lehman, the only Senator up for election this year who had the courage to oppose the McCarran "security" bill, was likewise the only top Democrat to win in New York. And in Missouri the victorious Hennings had gone out of his way to damn the same bill and to praise the President for his veto. Of the eighteen Democrats in the House who had the temerity to resist the McCarran steam-roller, an action considered to be downright foolhardy, fourteen were reelected without trouble.

None of these comments, we trust, will be taken to indicate that we found pleasure in reading the papers of November 8. Too many good Senators and Representatives were lost to the country for that, whatever the explanation. What is worse, we can expect two years of political warfare between a Democratic President and a Congress which is Democratic in name only, an ugly prospect of paralyzed government at a dangerous point in world history. But we cannot for a moment see the returns as a mandate for reaction. If the Republicans are idiotic enough to read them in that wishful light, then they have learned nothing from the fiasco of the Eightieth Congress and their well-deserved punishment in 1948.

Mao Is Invited

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, November 9

WHEN the photographers at Lake Success saw Jacob Malik of Russia, Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Great Britain, and Warren R. Austin of the United States, all voting alike, they realized the significance of the event and took pictures of the three men which were immediately reproduced in every country in the world. It was the first time Senator Austin had raised his hand in the Security Council in favor of a resolution inviting Red China to attend a meeting of the U. N.—in this case to be present at a discussion of General MacArthur's charges that Chinese Communist forces were fighting in North Korea. The importance of the decision overshadowed the debate which preceded it, but some of the incidents are nevertheless worth recording.

Mr. Malik sensed from the start that the atmosphere was more propitious for obtaining American consent to an invitation "to the other side" than it had been when he asked the Security Council and the Political Committee to allow the North Koreans to be heard. The situation had become extremely grave—a long and terrible war seemed in prospect—and the Council was obviously prepared to deal with it in a mood of caution and conciliation. A Russian proposal that the Peking government should be asked to take part in discussions of all aspects of the Korean question was rejected by a vote of three to two—the United States, Nationalist China, and Cuba voting against it, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for it, the others abstaining. But once this was out of the way the ground was prepared for the acceptance of a British resolution inviting Peking to send a representative to discuss the charges in General MacArthur's report. The vote on this was eight to two, with Nationalist China and Cuba opposed and Egypt abstaining.

Senator Austin was undoubtedly aware of two facts: first, that no opportunity to solve the Chinese problem by diplomatic means should be rejected, and second, that he could not afford to appear in basic disagreement with Great Britain and France on this issue. It was to make the invitation more palatable to public opinion, as well as to stress American non-recognition of Communist China, that he tried to have it phrased as a "summons." This suggestion drew a sharp rejoinder from Mr. Malik about the inappropriateness of using such "typically colonial" language to a sovereign state with a population of 450,000,000. However, the Soviet delegate realized, on his side, that the important thing was to insure a hearing for Peking; so he accepted the British resolution without needling his opponent too severely or

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pressing too strongly his own points of difference.

Some delegates remarked that Sir Gladwyn had rendered a service not only to the United Nations but to the United States by giving the latter a way out of an awkward situation. An opinion frequently expressed at Lake Success is that the United States, or more specifically American diplomacy, has become the prisoner of its own propaganda. When the American people are told constantly that it is useless to negotiate with the Russians or their associates until Western military strength approximates theirs, any proposal to initiate talks now is difficult to justify. The campaign to contain communism, not here or there, but in every part of the world, makes retreat difficult even if the realities of the situation demand it. The dominant fact behind the Council debate was that, with China able to send unlimited reinforcements into Korea, the war might go on indefinitely. Two courses were open to the Security Council: it could deliver an ultimatum, or it could talk with Communist China. The phrasing of the British resolution, together with Sir Gladwyn Jebb's careful presentation of the case for its adoption, made it possible for Senator Austin to cast a favorable vote without undue loss of face.

The countries forming the present majority in the Assembly know that this time they cannot implement a decision of the United Nations simply by sending a symbolic corvette or contributing a supply of penicillin. If China enters the war, U. N. members will have to send men, and in great numbers, unless they want the American people to consider United Nations support a cruel mockery. It was this knowledge that made the circumstances at Lake Success favorable to moderation and conciliation.

Of all the Western nations, Great Britain, as I have previously pointed out, is the most worried. On the same day that Sir Gladwyn Jebb offered his resolution in the Security Council, he used the occasion of a dinner of the Academy of Political Science at the Astor Hotel in New York to urge the greatest caution in handling the situation along the Korean-Manchurian border. The French representative on the Security Council, Jean Chauvel, seemed weak and vacillating beside his British colleague, but Paris too is eager to try conciliation before embarking on any further perilous enterprises in the Far East. During the last few days the situation in Indo-China has deteriorated to a point where French officials admit that France faces the possibility of a major military and political disaster, involving the loss of the Delta "rice bowl" on which hope of ultimate success depends.

Though the fighting on the very frontier of Manchuria has made the prospect much worse, the road to a settlement is still open, largely owing to the decision taken at Wednesday's meeting of the Security Council.

November 11

China's rejection today of the invitation to discuss the MacArthur report has diminished these hopes and put the United Nations in a most difficult situation. The issue is now not one of circumventing the certain Russian veto in the Security Council against any "tough" policy toward Mao. That can be easily done, and undoubtedly will be done, through the new Assembly machinery set up under the Acheson plan adopted two weeks ago. But such action will only provide a moral or legal victory. The real problem will remain unsolved: how to find a solution without becoming engaged in a war of attrition on the continent of Asia. The prevailing feeling in Britain, France, and certain other countries that they and the U. N. have stumbled into the present impasse because they failed to attempt mediation before driving across the Manchurian border may still block irrevocable action against China.

Union Shop in Pittsburgh

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Pittsburgh, November 8

THE only local newspaper in which the 2,000,000 people of the Pittsburgh metropolitan area could read the election returns this morning was the Pittsburgh *Daily Reporter*, a union-sponsored publication organized hastily to meet the responsibility of furnishing the community with the news. Since October 1, Pittsburgh's three regular newspapers—the Scripps-Howard *Press*, the Hearst *Sun-Telegraph*, and William Block's *Post-Gazette*—have been shut down by a relatively small labor dispute, the net result of which has been to throw three thousand persons out of work. When it became evident that the strike and lockout would last some time, the unions took over the publishers' obligation to print the news—not in order to make money and not with any idea of competing with the publishers after the emergency was over, but simply to fill the temporary void. Each day since October 15 the *Daily Reporter* has printed a six-page or eight-page paper and sold an average of more than 110,000 copies at five cents a copy.

The *Daily Reporter* is not a labor newspaper; it has no editorial page, supports no causes, does not crusade even in the interests of the Mailers' Union, whose dispute with the publishers created the present impasse, or of the eleven other unions drawn into it. These twelve unions, incorporated as the Newspaper Unions Publishing Company, put out the paper.

For three weeks before the election the *Daily Reporter* alone enabled local candidates to get their statements into print. Only in the *Daily Reporter* could Pittsburgh residents read the charges of corruption brought by the Republican state's attorney, Charles J.

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Margiotti, against the Democratic city administration. Only in the *Daily Reporter* could they read Margiotti's further charge that the newspaper labor dispute itself was "politically inspired" to suppress news of his accusations. The three thousand workers living on unemployment compensation, union benefits, or nothing at all may have thought the idea a little silly, but it was objectively reported. This morning the *Daily Reporter* ran off 155,000 copies to give the election news and practically sold out.

This is not the first time that unions have cooperated to publish a daily newspaper when the regular publishers, caught in a labor dispute, have abandoned their responsibility. But the venture has had to be carried on longer in Pittsburgh and against greater difficulties than on other occasions. It is a remarkable achievement for a group of unions, working with an original capital of $15,000, to start a new daily newspaper from scratch. The mechanical staffs of the three regular newspapers are taking turns on the *Daily Reporter*; their editorial and business-department staffs are processing the news, selling the advertising, handling the accounting. Now that the paper has been in business long enough to calculate its income, the workers will be paid at union rates.

What was the cause of the labor dispute which provoked suspension of the three "regular" Pittsburgh dailies? William Block, publisher of the *Post-Gazette*, told me yesterday that the publishers were tired of the mailers' frequent strike threats, "feather-bedding," and "clubbing." Although the mailers are a local of the International Typographical Union, which in conformity with a Taft-Hartley injunction requires its locals to have written contracts, the mailers did not have one. As a result, Block said, there was no grievance machinery for settling disputes, and a publisher might suddenly face the threat of a "continuous chapel meeting" that would halt delivery of a heavy edition packed with profitable advertising.

Block said further that the mailers insisted on a six-day week, with the last five hours paid at overtime rates and with additional straight pay for time spent in shifting from plant to plant, so that the take-home pay of "one of the least skilled crafts" was disproportionately high. Fundamentally he seemed disturbed by what he called "militant unionism." It is a fact that the I. T. U., agreeing that the international union's rules have been violated, has lifted the charter of the mailers' local. It could scarcely do otherwise after the issuance of the Taft-Hartley injunction.

Another side of the picture is presented by the unions caught in the dispute. They point out that they had contracts with the publishers which were abrogated suddenly. They believe that "militancy" in a union is likely to spring from a historical background in which the employers are not blameless. They say that in the past in cases of dispute with a single union the publishers called in other unions as mediators and consultants, but that no such request came this time. They talk of the publishers' strike insurance—said to be enough to cover fixed costs for fifty days—and charge that the showdown fight is designed to make any union "afraid to call a strike voice for the next five years."

They are acutely aware, furthermore, that the newspapers are suffering less than they are. Apart from the strike insurance, Scripps-Howard and Hearst can divert newsprint from Pittsburgh to other newspapers in their chains. To a smaller extent Block can divert it to the family-owned Toledo *Blade and Times*. The unions see no hope of a settlement until the strike insurance is about to expire and the publishers, hungry for Christmas advertising, will meet the mailers to work out some reasonable compromise.

NEEDLESS to say, the *Daily Reporter*, though bought eagerly by the public, was not greeted with cheers by the established publishers, the great wire services, the picture services, syndicate agencies, or newsprint companies. Its wire service for national and international news is Trans Radio Press, which is used principally by radio stations. Special correspondents covered important elections across the country. Two of the great syndicates, though usually happy to sell their famous columnists, features, and cartoons at going prices, have refused to sell to the *Daily Reporter*. On one occasion theater managers, apparently under orders from their New York offices, pulled out their advertising. Pittsburgh's banks have printed financial statements in the *Wall Street Journal* and other out-of-town papers, although the Pittsburgh City Council has recognized the *Daily Reporter* as eligible for legal notices.

The newsprint situation is so acute that Sam Eubanks, executive vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, has asked Representative Celler of New York to reopen hearings on the newsprint monopoly and "to examine local evidence of collusion between daily-newspaper publishers here and paper manufacturers to black-out news" in Pittsburgh. The unions have been forced to extraordinary expedients to get any newsprint at all, although Pittsburgh warehouses are full and the city's normal supply permits the printing of 700,000 fat copies a day. On November 1 the unions appealed to nine mills that customarily furnish the Pittsburgh market for a stable allotment sufficient to print 100,000 copies of the eight-page *Daily Reporter*; they got regrets from seven mills and no reply from two. A trucking company which was hauling newsprint in small lots suddenly gave notice it could not continue. Small-town dailies near and far which might have lent or sold some paper from surplus stocks apparently feared retaliation if they offered the courtesy. The unions have

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had to pay as high as $150 a ton—far above the market price—for odd-size rolls, and then go through the expensive process of slitting and rewinding the rolls to fit the rented presses.

All this, one of the union leaders asserts, is "the greatest demonstration of the control of communications by organized wealth the country has ever seen." But in the meantime, despite the obstacles, Pittsburgh is getting the news. The unions are printing it while the regular publishers are sitting out a labor dispute which is victimizing most of their employees and the entire population of the city.

Democracy's Betrayal of Spain

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

FOR the second time in fourteen years the Spanish people have been sacrificed on the block of power politics. Once again a theory of non-intervention—now called "normal international practice"—has been devised to justify a cynical act which may prove to be one of the gravest blunders of the United Nations. This year the United States and Britain have succeeded Hitler and Mussolini as the protectors of Francisco Franco, the only surviving member of the Axis. The vote on the Spanish question symbolizes the extent of the deterioration of international morality, the growing subservience of powers large and small to the United States, and the diminishing authority of the U. N. as an independent body.

The real victor is Stalin. For by its action the United Nations has given powerful impetus to friendship inside Spain for the U. S. S. R., which alone among the big powers opposed the pro-Franco decision. The Spanish people, the record now shows, have been deserted by the Western world. Only four countries, in addition to Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc, had the courage to vote against rescinding the operative parts of the 1946 resolution: Uruguay, Guatemala, Mexico, and Israel.

The vote of thirty-eight for revocation, ten against, with twelve abstentions, is an almost exact reversal of the vote in 1946. In 1946 the resolution was adopted with 35 for, 6 against, and 13 abstentions. Of the countries which voted for the resolution in 1946, the following voted to rescind it in 1950—Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Liberia, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, the United States, and Venezuela. The following countries voted for the anti-Franco resolution in 1946 and abstained in 1950—Australia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The entire Arab bloc, which in 1946 abstained, in 1950 voted for the resolution to rescind. Canada, Colombia, Greece, Honduras, and the Netherlands also abstained in 1946 and voted for the resolution in 1950.

The action was the product of the following factors: the pressure on the State Department of cotton-state Senators anxious to do business with Franco and of other business interests looking for easy profits; the influence of Congressional candidates amenable to Vatican wishes; the desire of a group of reactionary Latin American republics, seventeen of which had sent ambassadors to Madrid in defiance of the U. N. 1946 resolution, to be absolved of guilt; and the effect of the cold war on the independence of countries which depend on the economic and military support of the United States. Although the resolution was proposed by Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and the Philippines, the United States was unquestionably responsible for the policy.

Incidentally, the fervent proclamation by Thailand, Greece, Liberia, and the Philippines of the right of a sovereign state to be free from interference in its internal affairs had a cynical ring, coming from four countries which are not only beneficiaries of American funds but subject to American influence or outright control. From Spain, however, no quid pro quo has been demanded, and the day after the Ad Hoc Committee voted, the New York *Times*, in a dispatch from Madrid, quoted Franco as having said: "It would be puerile for anybody to think we are going to change our ways unless it is called for by our own convenience and in our exclusive service."

Spokesmen for the American delegation insist that the United States, voting as it did, was only following the will of the majority. This claim is challenged by the facts. On January 18, 1950, Secretary Acheson announced that the United States would, at the next session, vote for precisely the resolution adopted. On October 27, 1950, four days before he spoke in the Ad Hoc Committee, Senator Sparkman said that the United States would vote for the resolution. And there is the further fact that in this session of the General Assembly no resolution that the United States seriously opposed could pass, even if no pressure had been exerted beforehand. Finally it must be recalled that the State Department has given only reluctant consent to the restrictive acts taken against Franco by the United Nations since 1945.

The victory of the pro-Franco cabal was achieved

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virtually without debate, although some thirty persons were heard during four days of the Ad Hoc Committee's formal meetings. The bulk of the time was used by Franco proponents for record-like repetitions of identical arguments: that the 1946 resolution represented interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country; that the Franco regime had actually been strengthened by the 1946 resolution; that the repeal of the operative parts of the resolution would hasten the day when the Spanish people could return to the family of nations. No evidence was produced to support any of the contentions.

Numerous attempts were made to rush the committee to a vote. The supporters of the resolution were afraid of two things. They thought that if the debate were held in the calmer, post-election atmosphere, the pressure of public opinion might again, as in the past, force a change in American policy. They also feared that if the facts about conditions in Franco Spain were permitted to leak through, some delegations would be shamed into withdrawing their support. That was why the Franco item was pushed forward on the agenda of the Ad Hoc Committee, and why, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, debate was ruled out in the plenary session at which final action was taken. This undemocratic ruling was supported by the United States and Britain.

ON THE record the United Nations stands in an indefensibly contradictory position. It continues to maintain that the Franco regime is fascist and was an ally of the Axis; that Franco does not represent the Spanish people; and that the Security Council may remedy the situation if within a reasonable time no change takes place in Spain. This is the sense of the preamble to the 1946 resolution, which remains intact.

At the same time the General Assembly, having deliberately refused to rescind this indictment, proceeded to remove its practical effect by making possible Franco's admission to the specialized agencies of the United Nations and authorizing the return of ministers and ambassadors. Deliberately the United Nations closed its eyes to the fact that by reason of his origin and his performance since 1945 Franco cannot qualify for admission to the U. N. or its specialized agencies unless the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights are brushed aside.

The long-range purpose of the U. N. decision is clear. It is to rehabilitate the Franco regime through a series of acts of which the revocation of the 1946 resolution is but the first. The second will be to obtain Franco's admission to the Atlantic Pact, and the next will be to prepare for his ultimate membership in the United Nations—although this final step may be a good way off. As long as the Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations and the veto provision of the Charter is retained, the Russian veto could prevent Franco's coming into the U. N. through the front door.

Franco's immediate future is not so clear. President Truman's announcement, on the day after the pro-Franco resolution was adopted in the Ad Hoc Committee, that it would be a long, long time before the United States would send an ambassador to Madrid may be regarded as an honest expression of the President's dislike of Franco. It was of a piece with his refusal to allocate the money voted as a loan to Franco Spain by Congress. At the same time it reveals the ambivalence of American policy. There is no explanation for the failure of the President, feeling as he does, to direct the American delegation to vote against rescinding the operative parts of the 1946 resolution, or at least to abstain. Senator Sparkman told me that he had no knowledge of the President's statement in advance of its publication. Another member of the American delegation told me that President Truman had approved Secretary Acheson's letter to Senator Connally last January and had also approved the American action in the Ad Hoc Committee.

Perhaps the two most cynical statements made in the Ad Hoc Committee were those of the British and American delegates. Sir Frank Soskice, speaking for the United Kingdom, declared that "nothing had taken place to require or justify a change in the attitude of Great Britain toward the Franco regime and toward the 1946 resolution." Therefore, he added, "we will abstain." It was Senator Sparkman who charged the U. N., by virtue of its anti-Franco resolutions, with responsibility for the sufferings of the Spanish people. His speech concluded: "It is our hope that, freed of external pressures, Spain will, in its own way, take steps which will enable it to reenter the family of nations." Was the American delegate unaware of the fact that Franco Spain is still a police state on the Nazi-Fascist model?

COULD the decision have been prevented? If those in the abstention column had felt free to register their actual views, the opposition to Franco could have been sustained. Leadership by Great Britain and the United States could have brought ten, if not all twelve, of the abstaining nations into the opposition column. Britain's decision to abstain was counter to the views of the Labor Party, the British trade unions, and the Socialist parties of the world.

British opposition alone could have swung four votes —those of the Scandinavian bloc and France. The Scandinavian countries were opposed to Franco but bound by an agreement to vote as Britain voted. France, with public feeling still aroused against Franco, would have been encouraged to cast a negative vote if Britain had done so. That both countries abstained rather than

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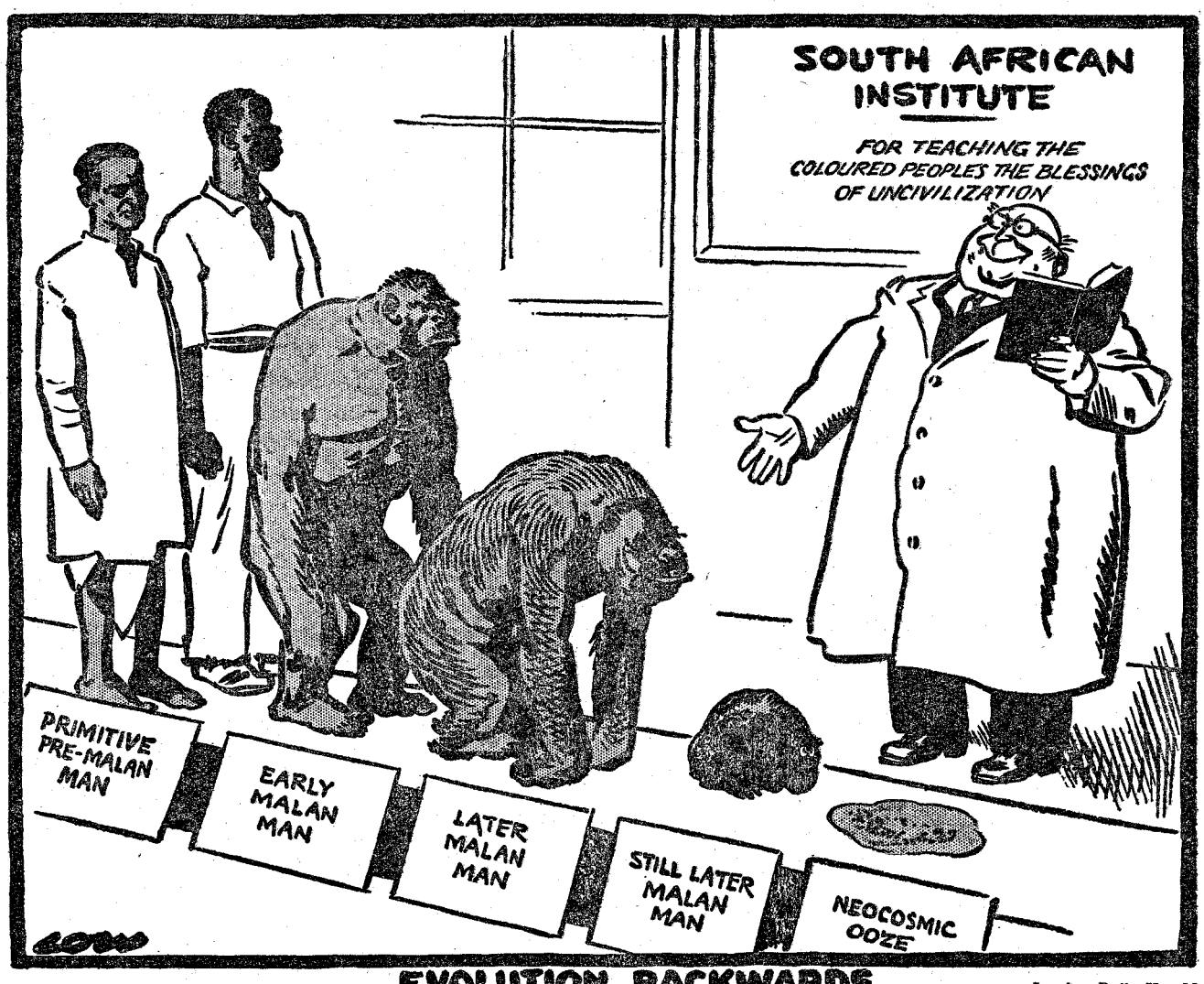
vote for the resolution is not to their credit, though it was necessary for home consumption; they were fully aware that their abstentions were as important in producing the sorry result as a direct affirmation would have been. Had Britain and France voted no, Belgium and Luxembourg would probably have abstained. It is worth recalling that Belgium, the author of the proposal for the withdrawal of ambassadors in 1946, in 1950 voted for their return!

The abstentions of Australia and New Zealand in the final vote represented feeling against Franco. It was Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, then Foreign Minister of Australia, and Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who first brought the issue of Franco Spain to the U. N. in San Francisco. The Labor governments of both countries have now been replaced by conservative governments, but even these could not bring themselves to cast a direct vote for Franco.

The abstention of India, which brought about the abstentions of Indonesia and Burma, was a surprising development. In 1946 India voted for the anti-Franco resolution. In 1947 it led the fight against those who had violated the resolution. But in 1950 India felt that the principle upon which it has based its efforts for the admission of Communist China—namely, that any government is eligible which is in de facto control of its territory—applied with equal logic to Franco Spain. In the end, unable to bring itself to cast a favorable vote, the Indian delegation abstained.

The four small countries which in the final showdown stood alone in defense of the principles of Western democratic morality—Uruguay, Guatemala, Mexico, and Israel—want and need American aid as much as any others. Israel, in particular, new as a state and new in the U. N., needs the support of the United States and of the Latin American bloc with respect to two questions on the Assembly's agenda—the Arab refugees and the final status of Jerusalem. None the less, Israel dared take a position on Franco contrary to both.

One thing is certain. The problem of Spain has not yet been resolved. In a world in which the struggle against feudalism, colonialism, and oppression is a constant factor, a revolt against Franco is inevitable, however well protected he may be by his Western allies. The cost in blood will be much higher as a result of the U. N. action of November 4.



EVOLUTION BACKWARDS

London *Daily Herald*

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MacArthur Worries London

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, November 10 (by radio)

NOT since the Palestine issue was in its thorniest stage has the British attitude toward America been so testy and jaundiced as during the past week. The irritation stems, first, from the Chinese intervention in Korea, for which public opinion holds America largely responsible, and, second, from the outcome of the American elections, which has made for the belief here that most of the bad features of American foreign policy are now likely to be accentuated.

Officials here have been unusually outspoken, especially with regard to the Asian situation. The official spokesman of the Foreign Office, answering inquiries by American reporters as to possible Chinese motives for invading Korea and Tibet, said forthrightly that he considered America's isolation of Formosa one of the outstanding causes of Mao's action. The Chinese, he said, indubitably considered possession of Formosa a legitimate aspiration and had reacted to the American move by bellicosity elsewhere. In the context of the Foreign Office's notorious reluctance to voice any adverse comment about the United States, this counts as scathing criticism.

Other evidence indicates that it was not merely one official's opinion; rather, it seems to be the line ordered from higher up. This belief is borne out by a speculative article in Britain's most cautious paper, the London *Times*, which has attracted much attention here and which investigation reveals was directly inspired by the Foreign Office. After describing American press comments on Chinese intervention in Korea as "somewhat hysterical," the article went on to say that American official assurances that China would not be menaced by a United Nations advance in Korea "must to some extent have been nullified by the amount of unofficial saber-rattling carried on by individuals—some of it by men like Secretary of the Navy Matthews, whom a foreign country must be excused for refusing to disregard. . . . It was decided some time ago on the highest level that the United States must avoid war with China at all costs, but the exhortations given on much lower levels sometimes make this hard to believe."

The implication of these words—that American provocations bear great responsibility for the turn of events—has been echoed with varying degrees of sharpness in most of the British press this past week. Weekend comments have tended to center on General MacArthur and his communiqué accusing the Communists of committing "one of the most offensive acts of international lawlessness of historic record." The more moderate papers like the *Spectator* feel that this was a non-military sort of opinion which if expressed at all should have come from the United Nations and not from a general in command of forces in the field. The strongest expression of British dissent appears in the front-page editorial of the current *New Statesman and Nation*, which begins, "General MacArthur seems intent on turning the Korean war into a world war."

What seems to be happening is that the veil which has covered the long-standing Anglo-American disagreements over Asia is now wearing thin under the strain of the latest events in Asia plus United States election results. Several times in the past, disagreements have seemed about to break through the surface calm. Britain has never seconded or approved Truman's order placing a cordon around Formosa. The British tend to consider the tacit agreement observed by the West when China was ruled by Chiang—namely, that Formosa was a special Chinese interest—still valid, despite the fact that the Chinese government has changed hands. MacArthur's visit to Formosa and his reliance on his Old World charm in his meetings with Mme Chiang caused universal revulsion here. In recent weeks also, before Chinese intervention in Korea, there has been a crescendo of press criticism of the General's apparent decision to give Syngman Rhee a pretty free hand in the liberated areas of Korea. The strongest comment appeared in one of Britain's most moderate papers, the *Observer*, last Sunday: "It's a matter of utmost urgency for the United Nations to take control in Korea before irreparable harm is done to its reputation by the vindictive Oriental tyrant whose present constitutional credentials are as doubtful as his record of past misgovernment is glaring."

A Labor leader here who cannot be named told me the other day that "if the United States elections now mean accentuation of such moves as these, we shall have to let it be known frankly that we are no longer able to keep in step with you in Asia." I asked him what he considered our policy should be, and here is the gist of his answer: we should forthrightly and ungrudgingly bring Red China into the United Nations; as the London *Economist* pointed out recently, it is ridiculous and dangerous to let so important a people as the Chinese become isolated, with only one channel of information about the outside world—Russia's embassies.

HOWARD K. SMITH is European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System and a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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This Minister, like most other official Britons, was supremely confident that once contact was established between China and the West, Mao's ambitious plans would automatically draw him closer to the West and make his lines to Moscow more tenuous. "Steel statistics alone are decisive," he said. "Industrialization means above all steel. Russia hasn't any to spare. In two years' time Russia will be producing only twenty-five million tons annually. Germany turns out twelve million tons, France ten million, and America upward of one hundred million tons. There is our strength and appeal. We should establish contact with China to make use of it."

High Stakes in Kashmir

BY K. RANGASWAMY

New Delhi, November 1

THE problem of Kashmir's future, which has poisoned Indo-Pakistani relations for nearly three years, is again before the Security Council. Sir Owen Dixon, the Australian jurist who was named mediator by the Security Council, has admitted failure.

His report has been sharply criticized in both India and Pakistan. From the start of his mediatory efforts India insisted that Pakistan be recognized "as an aggressor in Kashmir, with no *locus standi* in the territory." Sir Owen, somewhat grudgingly, "was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed . . . by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law; and that when . . . units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the state, that too was inconsistent with international law." Throughout India this passage from his report has been given the greatest prominence, and Sir Owen has been attacked on the ground that having recognized Pakistan's guilt, he should logically have named the aggressor.

Two points must be remembered in judging India's attitude. One is the growing feeling in the country that Prime Minister Nehru has pursued a policy of appeasement for the last three years in his negotiations with Pakistan. At the annual meeting of the Congress Party at Nasik, Nehru obtained an overwhelming vote of confidence, but the impression persists that plain speaking on what his critics call his pro-Pakistan policy is in order. The second is the Security Council's prompt recognition of aggression in Korea and its adoption of effective measures to halt it. Everywhere in India people are harping on the contrast between the U. N.'s action in Korea and its refusal to act in Kashmir. Nehru has no satisfying answer to the question, "Is aggression a crime only when North Koreans commit it?" In fact, much of the resentment over the U. N.'s handling of the Kashmir problem has erupted since the police action in Korea. Indirectly it has affected Indo-American relations.

K. RANGASWAMY is a New Delhi journalist. Last week Vera Micheles Dean presented Pakistan's position in the Kashmir dispute.

But Kashmir is only one of the subjects of dispute between India and Pakistan. As readers of *The Nation* know, there is the question of the vast properties left behind in both countries by the millions who fled from communal violence, and there is the question of how the waters of the tributaries of the Indus shall be divided for irrigation purposes. More than once in recent months, moreover, Nehru has proposed a no-war declaration by the prime ministers of the two countries, without a proper response from Pakistan. All these problems—and others connected with currency and trade—hang together. Indian opinion could be persuaded to take a generous view of them only if it were satisfied that Pakistan is animated by a spirit of give and take.

India will never accept two of Sir Owen Dixon's suggestions. First, it will not permit a U. N.-supervised administration of Kashmir to be substituted even temporarily for the present administration under Sheik Abdullah, the Moslem leader of the National Conference; much less will it agree to a coalition with the raiders' regime beyond the cease-fire line. That, in India's view, would imply acceptance of the validity of aggression. Secondly, India will not permit the famed "Vale of Kashmir" to suffer uncertainty as to its defense.

The concessions that India was prepared to make to Pakistan were imparted to the U. N. mediator and found a place in his report. India would consent to a reduction in the amount of territory to be assigned according to a plebiscite. Broadly speaking, regions about the wishes of whose people there could be little doubt would go automatically to the country of their choice. Ladakh and the province of Jammu east of the cease-fire line—subject to minor adjustments—would go to India. Gilgit, some of the adjoining political districts and tribal territories, including Baltistan, and the part of Jammu west of the cease-fire line would go to Pakistan. For the rest of the area—the Vale of Kashmir itself—India would be willing to discuss a proposal for a plebiscite to be held under conditions which would insure a free and fair vote, without removing the present government or interfering with India's responsibility for the defense of the area. It is argued here that to give so much of Kashmir

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to Pakistan without a plebiscite would be an act of inconceivable generosity. More India could not do.

Since Pakistan was not prepared to compromise on the original plan of a plebiscite for the entire state, India's proposals were not discussed in detail. Sir Owen Dixon did not consider them just or practicable.

Only the conclusion of the Dixon report had a sympathetic reception in India. This was that "the whole question has now been thoroughly discussed by the parties [India and Pakistan] with the Security Council, the commission, and myself, and the possible methods of settlement have been exhaustively investigated. It is perhaps best that the initiative should now pass back to the parties." Meanwhile, the report suggests, the Indian and Pakistani chiefs of staff should arrange for a reduction of forces on both sides of the cease-fire line, and the Security Council should press both countries to agree to it. India has already, for reasons of economy, substantially reduced its armed forces in Kashmir. Similar action is also imperative for Pakistan. Since the commencement of the dispute, both countries have been spending huge amounts on defense which are urgently needed for social and economic reconstruction. It would be ruinous to keep the dispute alive indefinitely.

Dangerous Thoughts

WHERE are those "Red Channels" boys bound now? After fattening on movies and radio, are they going to move into the legitimate theater? It looks as if they were, and right away, and right into the whole field of road tours and small-town productions. Potential mid-Western audiences are already beginning to fall for that red-listing business like a ton of hicks.

A man named Vincent Hartnett visits Peoria, Illinois, and permits the local papers to identify him as the author of "Red Channels." Whether or not he is drumming up customers for his associates' larger and even more lucrative enterprise of screening a firm's employees for a flat fee, the papers don't say. But Mr. Hartnett makes a public talk at an All-Peoria Anti-Subversive Conference as it was called, and they cover it in enthusiastic detail, describing the stirring effect of his utterances on the Americanism Committee of Peoria Post No. 2 of the American Legion and the board of directors of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Hartnett says he has noticed an announcement that within the fortnight a play entitled "Death of a Salesman" will make a Friday-Saturday stand in Peoria. He feels it his duty to warn people against this wicked play. The author is Arthur Miller. Its original co-producer, though he is not nominally connected with this particular company, was Kermit Bloomgarden. Its principal role will be taken by Albert Dekker. Peorians should know that these three are all politically suspect: they are Communist fronters; they must hand over something like 7 per cent of their earnings from this play to the Communist Party. You good Peorians will be contributing to the party if you go to see this play.

Roars for a boycott follow. Resolutions are adopted urging Peorians to "stay away from the two nights' performances." The papers feature it all and print strong editorials, too.

Plays are perishable goods. Boycotts can kill a tour overnight. The "Red Channels" drummer defied Miller, Bloomgarden, and Dekker to sue for damages. As yet they have not troubled to do so, being concerned with the more immediate problem of keeping their play alive. But they flatly denied Hartnett's statements in a telegram to the Peoria *Star*. "Any allegation that any part of the income of the play has gone, is going, or will go to the Communist Party or its affiliates is an outright and preposterous lie," they declared. "Nor is the producer, author, or star a 'front' for any political theory or organization."

The Authors' League of America tried to help them. That strictly non-political organization, "interested in the preservation of worthy American writing and its interpretation," reminded Peoria editors that "Death of a Salesman" had won prize after prize as a superlative play of its year and asked them to help keep their city "among those which can receive and appreciate a serious work without further prejudice or hindrance." When last scanned, some of the Peoria papers were still referring to the play as "Death of a Stranger"—and still looking forward to a boycott.

This is no isolated piece of nonsense. When the Community Theater of Omaha, Nebraska, announced "Born Yesterday," the American Legion's local commandery promptly discovered that Garson Kanin, who wrote it, was sure enough the subject of a page in "Red Channels" and began thundering against the performance of the well-known farce. The Omaha press cooperated. Luckily, it was too late for the bill to be changed. "Born Yesterday" had to be given—and proved to be strictly 100 per cent American in its laughs.

The Peoria story has had a grim sequel. "A representative of Publix Great States Theaters, Inc.," according to the papers, "said the booking agency had been contacted for further information on the charges of the local organizations." That means self-constituted censorship from now on. In Omaha the directors of the Community Theater atoned for presenting "Born Yesterday" by canceling the next offering, that anti-capitalistic, anti-humanitarian piece "The Madwoman of Chaillot."

So you see what rule by "Red Channels" would mean in the theater. Perhaps even in the New York theater.

THE OBSERVER

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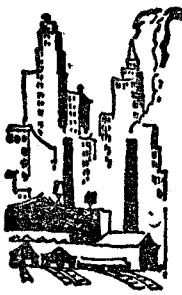

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The N. A. M.'s Tax Plan

TO NOBODY'S very great surprise, the Stock Exchange, which had slumped badly on Monday, November 6, as a result of adverse news from Korea, responded cheerfully to the election results. Sentiment among large owners of, and traders in, securities is of course overwhelmingly right-wing Republican. Consequently, when Mr. Truman won his unexpected victory two years ago, the stock markets suffered one of their worst breaks in years. This time the definite if not quite decisive preference shown by the voters for the G. O. P. brought on a rally. Obviously, conservative security-holders feel that their interests are going to be given greater consideration on Capitol Hill as a result of the poll. For even if the Republicans have just failed to win control, they can, in combination with their Southern Democratic allies, block any "radical" proposals which the Administration may bring forward.

As the daily bible of business, the *Wall Street Journal*, wrote on November 9, "The coalition-dominated Congress will be less inclined to finance the defense program by 'soaking the rich.' This will probably mean a milder excess-profits tax than has been proposed. Corporation taxes will be boosted but probably not so much as they would have been had Tuesday's election turned out differently. Proposals for stiffer excise taxes will get a more favorable reception. And there will be more and more talk of a general sales tax."

In view of the election results it seems improbable that anything will be done about taxes before the new year. The tax bill which became law at the end of September included an instruction to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee to report out a retroactive excess-profits levy as soon as possible after November 15. But it would be quite surprising if a measure of this importance were to be put through in a lame-duck session.

Nevertheless, the question of how rearmament is to be paid for and by whom will have to be settled. This was not a matter much discussed on the hustings, but it has been given very earnest consideration by various representative business groups in the past few months, and I think it fair to report that while all of them pay lip-service to the principle of "pay-as-we-go," none of them find an excess-profits tax acceptable. A typical view is that of the National Association of Manufacturers, which argues that an excess-profits tax is administratively unsound, impossible to assess fairly, and conducive to extravagance, since it encourages corporations to pad their costs.

Two alternatives have been suggested by this organization. First, it proposes that the total corporation income tax imposed by the 1950 Revenue Act should be reduced from 45 per cent to 38 per cent by changing the normal rate from 25 per cent to 18 per cent, while leaving the surtax, charged on net incomes in excess of $25,000, at 20 per cent. On top of this would be a "corporation defense tax" calculated as a flat percentage of the sum payable as income tax and fixed at 10, 20, or 30 per cent, in accordance with revenue needs. The last of these figures, the National Association of Manufacturers believes, should be the top limit, since any greater amount would tend to reduce incentive: it would mean, in fact, that corporations could be sure of retaining 51.3 per cent of their gross profits.

According to estimates provided by the *Monthly Letter* for November of the National City Bank of New York, aggregate corporate income before tax in 1950 will amount to $35 billion, on which total income tax will be $14 billion. With the N. A. M. plan in operation, the addition of a corporation defense tax charged at the proposed maximum rate would extract another $2 billion-odd from the corporations, which would then be left with $19 billion.

Now let us take a look at the second proposal of the N. A. M.—a plan for a uniform manufacturers' excise tax which would replace present excises running as high as 20 per cent on a limited number of articles. A 5 per cent levy on all goods except food products would produce about $4 billion, roughly the same amount as the existing indirect taxes of this type. Increased to 10 per cent, if the financing of "partial mobilization" made that desirable, it would, according to Dr. Hartley R. Lutz, tax consultant to the N. A. M., yield an additional $3½ billion to $4 billion.

There is one thing to be said for this N. A. M. tax plan—it has the merit of simplicity. A corporation defense levy of the kind proposed would eliminate all the difficulties involved in fixing a normal base for the assessment of an excess-profits tax and should be much cheaper to collect. On the other hand, it can very properly be criticized on grounds of equity, for it would fall on all profits, whether or not they were derived from war production and whether or not they were rising or falling. Thus Corporation A, a manufacturer of toys whose business was damaged because defense priorities deprived him of materials, would find itself paying the same higher rate of tax on a reduced income as its neighbor, Corporation B, whose munition contracts had enabled it to increase earnings by 1,000 per cent.

As for a uniform excise tax, it also is relatively simple to collect, but like all indirect taxes it puts the greatest burden on those least able to bear it. The society butterfly who spends $20,000 a year on her clothes is not going to be too badly hurt by a tax that adds 10 per cent to her bills. But the working-class housewife who has perhaps $300 a year budgeted to clothe herself and her two children will be hard hit by a tax which takes another $30 from her. Very likely it will mean that she must "make do" herself with old things so that her children may go properly shod to school.

Yet despite its manifest unfairness, this N. A. M. proposal is certain of a great deal of influential support and is likely to appear in one form or another in next year's tax bill. Liberals, therefore, must bind up their political wounds quickly and get to work. They cannot afford to let the N. A. M. win by default.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Bernard Shaw—Dancing Philosopher

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW: CRITIC OF WESTERN MORALS. By Edmund Fuller. Twentieth Century Library. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

BERNARD SHAW is a hard man to write a book about. For one thing his multifariousness defeats even those who might cope with his genius. For another he can always out-explain his explainers. For these as well as other reasons the best thing in any biographical or critical study of him is always the quotations.

Mr. Fuller makes a brave try. In no more than 120 pages he succeeds better than most of those who extend themselves further, and if his is not *the* book on its subject he can at least console himself with the assurance that there isn't any. Moreover, his book would be still better if it were all as good as the first two chapters, and it might have been if he had stuck to their method. In them, brief though they are, he seems to me to succeed surprisingly well in doing what few have been able to do—namely, say something *about* Shaw rather than merely rephrase less happily what Shaw has said about himself. The rest of the book, devoted to analyses, one by one, of the principal plays, is neither better nor worse than a dozen similar summaries. That Mr. Fuller allows himself to fall into this routine is no doubt partly because something of the sort is expected in a book which professes to be an introduction to its subject. Probably it is also because anyone who exposes himself for long to Shaw's dazzling garrulousness soon finds it almost impossible to do more than repeat what has been so amusingly and so cogently preached at him.

Everybody knows that Shaw's ideas are not original, that he borrowed them from very diverse thinkers, and that he seems, at various moments, to agree with half a dozen different people not one of whom would ever have agreed with any of the others. That is the primary fact with which any commentator must deal. The stupid deal with it by saying that Shaw is "inconsistent" or that "he doesn't really mean what he says." The solemn deal with it by attempting the impossible task of making a synthesis in which everything is logically reconciled with everything else—despite the fact that, as a reviewer once remarked, it would be as difficult to systematize Shaw as it would be to dramatize Hegel. All intelligent critics, on the other hand, agree at least that Shaw's apparent self-contradictions can neither be explained away nor dismissed as careless superficiality. These self-contradictions mean something, and what they mean is very close to the center of Shaw's personality, his "lesson," and his art. What Mr. Fuller has to say on the subject is clear enough, penetrating enough, and brief enough to be worth quoting. From Eric Bentley he borrows the contrast between the "either/or" and the "both/and" types of mind, and after calling Shaw perhaps the greatest symbol of the latter type he goes on:

> The lesson of Shaw is to take from all and follow none. In every man is to be found that which you will accept and that which you will reject. . . . The creative mind . . . must say: I am richer for Marx, but I am not a Marxist; I am richer for Darwin, I am not a Darwinian; I am richer for Freud, I am not a Freudian. . . . This is what has kept Shaw from obsolescence. . . . It is what makes ironic his current identification of himself as a Marxian Communist, even though he adds, characteristically, that nobody else means the same thing by the term.

The present reviewer, after remarking that he is the richer for Fuller but not quite a Fullerian, would like to add two comments. The first is that there is a vast difference, hard to define but supremely important, between a genuine both/and mind like Shaw's—which is very rare—and that indecisive mental muddle in which most of those who are not dogmatists have their mental life. The other one is that if Mr. Fuller tends to neglect any important aspect of his subject, it is Shaw's sheer irresponsible sense of fun, which permits him on occasion, even on artistically important occasions, to upset his own apple cart for the pure mischievous delight of watching the apples roll. That he is a comic writer is a fact possibly more central than the fact that he is a thinker. Again and again he speaks of laughter as though it were the final expression of wisdom, and when Mr. Fuller calls him "puritan and prophet" the characterization is not really so justly inclusive as Archibald Henderson's "playboy and prophet." Shaw never said anything about himself more revealing than this: "If you can't get rid of a family skeleton, you might as well make it dance." He is perpetually concerned with the skeletons in the closet of the human family, and he never fails to make them dance—for his own amusement and for ours. Perhaps Mr. Fuller is not quite sufficiently aware that Shaw, like Zarathustra, is a dancing philosopher.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Portraits by Sitwell

NOBLE ESSENCES. By Sir Osbert Sitwell. Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown and Company. $4.50.

"NOBLE ESSENCES," a title grandiose and touching, concludes the recollections of which, five volumes back, "Left Hand, Right Hand" was the first instalment. Their baroque design—the term is the author's—permits them a rich variety and discursiveness; the prose in which they are cast is suitably ornate and subtle. Sir Osbert Sitwell is no Proust, but he has recaptured with all its enchantments as much of the past as he has wanted to make public.

His express intention in the earlier volumes was, through his own experience, "to portray the age in which history came to life again, the stirrings and then the great storms that followed the historic halcyon epoch" of the Victorian Age. "Noble Essences" views the author and the era "through the portraits of others, portraits of people of exceptional talent, wit, or genius." These include Sir Edmund Gosse, Ronald Firbank, Wilfred Owen, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Ada Leverson, Walter Richard Sickert, W. H. Davies, Violet Gordon Woodhouse, Rex Whistler, and Arnold Bennett.

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Some of the portraits are Raeburns and others turn out to be Sargents. Gosse, Firbank, Ada Leverson, Violet Woodhouse, and Sickert are done with affectionate care. Innumerable anecdotes, revealing, often funny, are fitted into careful mosaics, and the subjects emerge lifelike and in artistic completeness. The rest are less successful. Owen and Whistler were killed too early, perhaps, for anyone to be able to make of them more than promising sketches. The portraits of Davies and Bennett betray the limitations of the author's sympathies. About Davies he makes us feel, without intending to, that, however much a genius, he was, after all, an original out of low life. Bennett appears, though this was perhaps his own fault, as a parvenu, or, in more delicate terms, "a child turned business man." The account of D'Annunzio is no portrait but the record of the impact of that flamboyant personality on an impressionable young man.

There is a warmth here that was not present in the earlier volumes. Sir Osbert is writing about people he liked—it is everywhere clear that he *did* like them—not about his unhappy youth or about the dreadful and wonderful parents he was trying to escape. If nothing here can compare with the speaking likenesses of Sir George and Lady Ida Sitwell, there is an engaging affection brought to the portrayal of those who opened to him avenues of flight from a milieu which was, ironically, an important part of the world whose disruption he mourns.

In their entirety these memoirs are an incomparable reconstruction of the aristocratic and artistic society in which their author has moved. Here are wit, intellect, sensitiveness, the subtleties of light and shade, latterly even affection. But in all their ordered brightness there is little feeling. Not that they are needlessly reticent. Yet their architecture as a whole is somehow out of joint. The impossibly Olympian detachment does not suit the baroque design. "At first you did not love enough," Spender writes in one of his finest poems, "And afterwards you loved too much." Sir Osbert, as he makes himself out, has not erred in loving too much; he sounds as if he had never allowed himself to love enough.

This real defect has nothing to do with views bound to flutter the dovecotes but not to be dismissed as crotchets: Life was infinitely more pleasant before 1914 than it has been at any time since, a sound position when one adds, as Sir Osbert does not, "if one had money." The present age and its experiments are detestable, ". . . the Scylla and Charybdis of modern life, Slum Bolshevism or Democratic Bungalow-Rash—morbid states of the soul that are of no help to the artist." What reader concerned with the fate of Western culture can label this mere snobbishness or the terms in which it is expressed mere arrogance?

For him as for many, in the general collapse of powers and principalities art has replaced empire, the priesthood, the family:

> . . . I recognized an artist whenever I saw one, whether the scale of his creation was great or small, and respected him . . . I perceived in art the spirit made concrete and the flesh made eternal, and . . . accordingly I have admired talent and adored genius on each occasion that I met it.

A good many readers will find this as a credo incomplete or, worse, immoral, deplorably lacking in political awareness. It is, certainly, difficult to live for art alone; somehow dehumanization is a malady as common to aesthetes as to those consecrated to political action. Sir Osbert Sitwell suffers in part from that malady. In spite of it his book is a cheering affirmation of the positive virtues and joys of the life self-centeredly and unashamedly devoted to the gratification of the mind and the senses.

ERNEST JONES

The Dublin Joyce Knew

JAMES JOYCE'S DUBLIN. By Patricia Hutchins. The British Book Center. $3.75.

THIS book is the nostalgic record of the visit of a Joyce adept to Dublin, illustrated with fine photographs of the scenes Joyce knew and used in his books. The attachment of Joyce to Dublin is one of the most remarkable examples in all literature of the dependence of an artist upon locale. He hated the city and fled it, but he had an imagination which was nourished by exact particulars, and all the exactness of his experience lay in Dublin, in the shadow of the narrow provincialism he detested. He had to accept Dublin if the artist in him was to survive, and the acceptance of the dreary, parochial city was a step toward the rich and Orphic utterance of his maturity. Acceptance is not the thing one expects after "Stephen Hero" and "A Portrait." But it is clear from the later books that coming to terms with Dublin was a condition of his artistic success. The city held his imagination in so strict a tyranny that throughout his fiction, from the first line of "Dubliners" to the self-embracing, first-final sentence of "Finnegans Wake," we are never, with the exception of Stephen Dedalus's school days, outside it. To the wide mind nothing is provincial, and by holding him so fiercely shackled, Dublin forced Joyce to recognize that the dustiest road may lead to Parnassus if the right feet tread it. For him the sirens sang in Barney Kiernan's pub, Nausicaa sported on the

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In Time of War

Beauty is in the blood.
Blush not, nor bloom too early.
Tighten the veins' bud.
Be ugly, nearly.

Flowers are clenched and pale.
Leaves that tonight wind tightly,
When sun's fire flames, shall fail,
Unfolding brightly.

Give of your hand the bone:
See how a statue closes
Love in the bloodless stone,
More slow than roses.

Darling, if love condones
Life, then the death of gardens,
Bombed by the sun, atones
For love that hardens.

Where is the faintest moon,
Far from the dangerous flower?
Hands that shall blossom soon
Entomb the hour.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

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beach at Sandymount, and history reeled drunkenly through the Wellington Museum.

Miss Hutchins visits many places which will give the Joyce reader pleasant experiences of recognition. The Martello tower at Sandycove, the National Library, and Mr. Bloom's house at 7 Eccles Street appear both in photographs and description. The windows of the Martello tower have been cleaned since Joyce's day, and the bell-push in the National Library no longer makes the noise Joyce mentioned. Details have changed, but many of the places Joyce knew are still there, and the ghosts of the life he gave them outlive the effects of time and are affectionately recalled. A very interesting feature is the re-creation, through school publications, of the student milieu in which Joyce moved while he was at University College. The seldom seen article on James Mangan, an essay of his undergraduate days, is reproduced in its entirety and should be of great interest to Joyce enthusiasts. Few of Joyce's contemporaries are left, but Miss Hutchins has found many present-day Dubliners whose reminiscences warmly suggest the atmosphere of the city and daily life Joyce knew.

JACOB KORG

Leave It to the A. M. A.

SANTA CLAUS, M.D. By W. W. Bauer, M.D. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.75.

EXPLAINING the purpose of his 266 pages, Dr. Bauer, director for eighteen years of the Bureau of Health Education of the American Medical Association, writes: "I am going to try to tell you why government control of your medical care is bad for you—whether it is called compulsory health insurance, socialized medicine, or any other name. . . . If you don't want that to happen to you, don't let Uncle Sam hide his whiskers behind a longer and whiter beard masquerading as Santa Claus."

Half the book is given over to an attempt to persuade the American people that Christmas cannot come every day of the year. Unfortunately, the author never states coherently or accurately the program which he attacks. Nor does he give more than a half-dozen pages to the voluntary health-insurance plans which, after opposition, doubt, and flirtation, the A. M. A. has finally espoused as its chief substitute for national health insurance. Without a substantial appraisal of voluntary health insurance in the United States, Dr. Bauer's position remains negative.

The other half of the book tries to tell the effectiveness of organized medicine in advancing medical science, professional education, public health, and the public interest as a whole. The accomplishments of the A. M. A. and of its county and state societies are recounted in a fine-print appendix of thirty pages, as well as at many points in the text. Here are facts which, if viewed in proper perspective, give reason for pride to physicians and to laymen who respect physicians, but Dr. Bauer's story is out of balance. The long record of opposition to progressive health and social legislation, voluntary health insurance, and group medical practice goes either unrecorded or is mentioned only in the manner in which a devout sectarian refers to critiques by misguided heretics. The bibliography includes six books attacking national health insurance but not one of the many which deal with it objectively or favorably. The reading references to the British National Health Service are equally one-sided.

Dr. Bauer overdoes his case for organized medicine by identifying the interests of the public with the interests of doctors, and the interests of both with those of the A. M. A. His logic is straight and simple. Your family doctor knows what is good for you when you are sick. The A. M. A. "is your trusted and respected family doctor, plus 140,000 or more like him." Therefore your doctor and your A. M. A. should have the same authority over the way of paying doctors' bills that they possess over the methods of diagnosing and treating sickness. Leave all these things to your doctor! Or, as Dr. Bauer declares in his peroration, the record presented in this volume "should furnish all the evidence any reasonable person could require that the medical profession is equal to the challenge of maintaining the health of the people at a high level in the future, as it has done in the past, provided the people give the politicians an unmistakable mandate. In two words—Hands Off!"

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

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Women in Early America

CAREER WOMEN OF AMERICA, 1776-1840. By Elisabeth Anthony Dexter. Marshall Jones Company, Francestown, New Hampshire. $4.

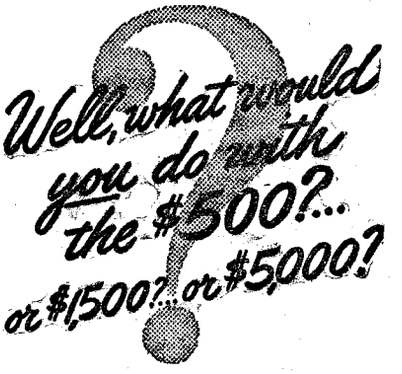
ALTHOUGH the early national period in American history has been termed "a dull interregnum in the rise of American women," Mrs. Dexter shows that new opportunities, especially in education, teaching, and the missionary field, prepared the way for women's more spectacular achievements in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This study, which succeeds her "Colonial Women of Affairs," compares the occupational choices open to women and their conditions of work in the early days of the Republic with those of the Colonial period. Despite the increasing number of women who worked outside their homes after 1776, the most important contrast to the Colonial period was one of ideology rather than of fact. Women workers were fewer in Colonial times; yet they pursued a surprising number of occupations without comment and were judged by their individual achievements. But the woman of 1800 could no longer work without apology or self-consciousness. Whether for praise or blame, the working woman was regarded as a symbol of her sex rather than as an individual trying to earn a living.

Significant in this new ideological emphasis was the myth of "feminine delicacy," which placed severe restrictions on women's activities. Why did the notion of female delicacy and modesty become so intense in this period? It had some basis in fact. The author notes the general poor health of American women, attested to by many travelers and attributed in part to the ill effects of tight lacing, bad ventilation, and insufficient exercise. But she does not push her analysis back far enough to inquire what social factors were influential in defining this manner of life for women. Women's roles can be understood only by referring them to the total culture of which they are a part. Probing for the factors underlying both social stability and social change in the pattern of women's behavior, however, seems beyond the scope of this study.

Without seeking to account for our cultural heritage of restraints on women's work, Mrs. Dexter suggests several explanations for the new handicaps of the post-Revolutionary period. Among these are the less intense need for workers and the increasing wealth of the early national period, which permitted the development of the value of "ornamental idleness" for wives and daughters, as classically described by Veblen. Also, the growing recognition of the need for academic preparation barred the old informal approaches of women to professional competence.

Still, despite the heavy handicaps of meager education, poor health, and social disapproval, these early career women made gains in behalf of women. The prestige which they lost in nursing they more than made up in teaching. In the theater and the literary marts they shared the fortunes of men—in fact, "feminine genius" in poetry and the novel was particularly valued. Displaced as hotel keepers, women reigned supreme in boarding-houses. They carried bravely on as merchants, craftsmen, and dealers in real estate. And since it so happened that the Industrial Revolution began with light rather than heavy industry they flocked from farm and parsonage into the new textile mills, though they were later to be largely supplanted by male immigrants. While one regrets the unavailability of statistics on the number of women workers in relation to the female population of working age and on the proportions of women to men in the total labor force and in the various occupations considered, the activities of our foremothers appear in pleasurable detail in this account.

It is interesting to note the convergence of Mrs. Dexter's findings on the American scene with those of the English scholars Eileen Power and Alice Clark, whose studies of women's economic activities in Europe likewise reveal a narrowing scope after the Industrial Revolution. But although the immediate effects of this great movement may have been to undermine many previous fields of work for women, its continuing momentum has brought new vocational opportunities and a democratic, individualistic ideology to support women as gainful workers. Mrs. Dexter's sympathetic, humorous, and scholarly book will be read not so much for sociological or historical theory as for her personal histories of "the



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feminine side of a masculine civilization" in this formative period in American national life.

HELEN MAYER HACKER

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AUTHORITY of the BIBLE
By Louis Wallis
(Reprinted from the Episcopalian "Witness")

New method of studying and teaching the God-centered history told about in the Bible. Challenges Jewish and Christian dogmatic belief that ancient Israel conquered Canaan.

Here are the general facts:—"The children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites. And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons" (Judges, chap. 3, vss. 5 and 6).

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American higher education (secular and theological) implicitly in sharp conflict with orthodox dogma. General situation complicated. All educators (whether orthodox or historico-critical) are sincere and worthy of high regard.

[Clergymen, academic and lay teachers of Bible greatly interested in this pamphlet. Sixteen closely printed pages. Production cost about nine cents. First-class postage three cents. You can wrap a ten-cent piece and a two-cent stamp in envelope with name and address. L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.]

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

CHRISTOPHER FRY'S romantic comedy "The Lady's Not for Burning" (Royale) is a delight to the eye and to the ear, a springtime freshet that ripples and shines and leaves dull winter far behind. Its theme is both simple and broad. A soldier back from the wars (John Gielgud) wants to be hanged and applies to the mayor of the market town of Cool Clary (circa 1400) to be granted his wish. He arrives with his "most immodest suggestion" while a witch hunt is in progress, and his affair becomes entangled with that of the beautiful young necromancer (Pamela Brown) who is assigned to the stake but prefers, unaccountably, not to burn. (The double meaning, I'm sure, is intended.) Thomas, the soldier, swears that he has murdered the rag-and-bone merchant Skipps; the townspeople swear that Jennet, the witch, has turned the very same merchant into a dog. In the end Skipps turns up, neither dog nor dead; meanwhile the soldier and the witch have fallen in love, and they fly together as the morning breaks.

This simple story is led through a maze of amusing complications and characters and situations—to the accompaniment of a display of lyric wit and sustained verbal felicity that allows one to experience anew, in a cliché-ridden world, the loveliness and viability of the English language. The secret is that Mr. Fry really makes use of the language, and in his hands it comes alive even when he employs a cliché, as the most ingenious must.

For me the particular charm of Mr. Fry's writing—which by the way reads extremely well—is that it is borne on a quality of feeling that never betrays him into mere whimsy on the one hand or mere cleverness on the other, and that the earthy and colloquial are so nicely mingled with the poetic and high-flown. He gives scope to our impulses toward fantasy and eloquence, yet does no outrage to our sense of fact; and engenders laughter that is knowing yet quite innocent of guile or malice.

Mr. Gielgud, being interviewed for an American public, said that the play, "for all its dazzling word patterns and luxury of epigram, is basically a popular play. It is, after all, boy meets girl." I was reminded of the more imaginative summary of the friend with whom I saw the play in London last year. "It's a play," she said, "about a man who wants to die and a woman who wants to live. And of course the woman wins." Mr. Gielgud's remark indicates the limitations of Mr. Fry's work so far; my friend's summing up indicates its possibilities. His control of his instrument, the play in verse, is remarkable. He displays great wit, and there are hints of wisdom. But he has not yet hit upon a theme which would demonstrate the extent and depth of the wisdom at his command—and for great comedy wisdom is quite as essential as wit. We must wait and see, and for the moment be grateful for present pleasures.

The staging, the casting, and the acting of "The Lady" are, I think, as nearly perfect as one has any right to expect. The production has been imported, almost intact, and must be regarded as an example, as is the play itself of course, of what is coming, these days, out of poor tired, oppressed Britain. What's more, it was made possible, perish the thought, by financial help from the government in the guise of the Arts Council of Great Britain. It is just as well, perhaps, that this fact isn't made much of.

To get back to the production. Pamela Brown looks marvelously like a witch and performs accordingly. Mr. Gielgud discharges the principal burden—both the eloquent passages and the merely amusing—with superb presence and skill. But it is the acting of the lesser roles—down to the very least—that makes one's admiration complete. The care and skill, the taste and gusto with which every member of the cast plays his part is a joy to see. It is hard to single out performances, and there is not space to speak of them all. I was particularly taken with that of Eliot Makeham as the chaplain. He plays continuously on the very edge of burlesque but never slips over, and his voice as he makes love to his violin or utters quotations from sacred works—which he immediately identifies with verbal footnotes—is a triumph of tone and inflection. As for the least part of all, that of Matthew Skipps, the rag-and-bone merchant, his one brief and riotous appearance is done

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by Esme Percy with as much love and precision as might be lavished on a leading role.

I would suggest reading the play before seeing it, for at times the "good lines" tumble over each other and get lost in the laughter. That is a criticism seldom called for this season.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AMONG additional great events of the year is the new London recording of Mozart's Requiem (LPS-230/1). Krips conducts the Vienna Hofkapelle and a solo group of boys and men; and the wonderfully beautiful sound of the boys' voices is the first striking difference between this performance and the great Cetra performance in which De Sabata conducts a chorus and solo group of women and men. With this there is a difference in style: the sound in the Krips performance is not shaped with the sustained impetus and control, the continuity of inner cohesive tensions that build up the intensity, passion, and dramatic power of the De Sabata performance. As a result there is a difference in atmosphere and effect: instead of human intensity and passion there is superearthly serenity and exaltation. And while one can say of the performances only that they are different and that each is wonderful and moving in its own way, the Krips performance is reproduced with greater clarity, spaciousness, and beauty of sound, though with violins sometimes veiled or sharp.

Another great event is the first recording, also issued by London, of Mozart's "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" (LLP-A-3), which gives us the entire work except for one aria and cuts in two other numbers. Krips this time conducts a group of excellent singers and the orchestra and chorus of the Vienna State Opera in a performance in which a tempo may be questioned here and an accent there, but which as a whole is a good one. As for the reproduction, violins are again veiled and sharp, the voices sound too close to the microphone and cover the orchestra, Blondchen and Pedrillo are closer and louder than Konstanze and Belmonte in the quartet, and the over-all sound gets brighter and richer on later sides than it is on earlier ones.

A recording of Mozart's "Idomeneo," issued by the Haydn Society (HSLP-2020), must also be considered a great event. After a performance in Boston three years ago I wrote about "the amazing things Mozart put into the score," including "the powerfully expressive detail with which the orchestra points up the recitatives, the noble style of the arias, the dramatic use of coloratura style," and such superb individual numbers as the quartet and the chorus *O voto tremendo!* And if I have been less excited by them this time I think the reason is that the noble and grand style of this music needs to be projected by performers of great stature, and the Viennese musicians—singers and chorus of the State Opera and the Vienna Symphony conducted by Meinhard von Zallinger—who recorded it for the Haydn Society are competent and intelligent but do not have the projective power of great stature.

Then the five Bach cantatas recorded in Vienna for the Bach Guild and issued here on Vanguard records, which certainly are an important event: No. 21, *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis* (BG-501); Nos. 34, *O ewiges Feuer,* and 56, *Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen* (BG-502); and Nos. 46, *Schauet doch und sehet,* and 104, *Du Hirte Israel, höre* (BG-503). It is the choral portions of these works that I find impressive and beautiful, rather than the arias, though occasionally one gets something as richly elaborated and powerful in expressive effect as the opening bass aria of No. 56 or as poignant as the soprano aria of No. 21. The performances by a small chorus, a small orchestra drawn from the Vienna Symphony, and soloists under the direction of Jonathan Sternberg are good, and are well reproduced except for some high-frequency distortion which can be eliminated by drastic reduction of treble. An admirable feature is the provision of the German texts, together with rather free English translations.

For lovers of the lovely vocal polyphony of Palestrina an important event is the Allegro recording (AL-70) of his Missa Brevis and Missa "Ascendo ad Patrem," beautifully sung by the Welch Chorale.

And for admirers of Bartok's music an outstanding event is the Columbia recordings of his six string quartets. I will defer my comment on the works, and merely report that the Juilliard Quartet's performances seem to be excellent and accurately reproduced—the dryness of the tone being what I recall from the group's playing in Times Hall.

In addition there are Stravinsky's own performances with a string orchestra of his "Apollon Musagète," which has some beautiful and touching writing, and the engaging Concerto in D, on an RCA Victor LP record. And on another Victor record a good performance of Brahms's Fourth by Münch and the Boston Symphony—though with the usual changes of tempo in the finale that should maintain its initial tempo throughout.

On the other hand, things to skip: the Capitol LP dubbings of Bach's Motet *Singet dem Herrn* and a couple of cantata movements, and of the Passacaglia and the Toccata and Fugue in D minor for organ; the MGM LP dubbings of Bach's Preludes and Fugues in A minor, A major, and C major for organ; the Chopin Nocturnes recorded by Maryla Jonas for Columbia; Prokofiev's Sonata Opus 80, recorded by Menuhin for Victor; and Stokowski's latest performance of Stravinsky's "The Firebird," also for Victor.

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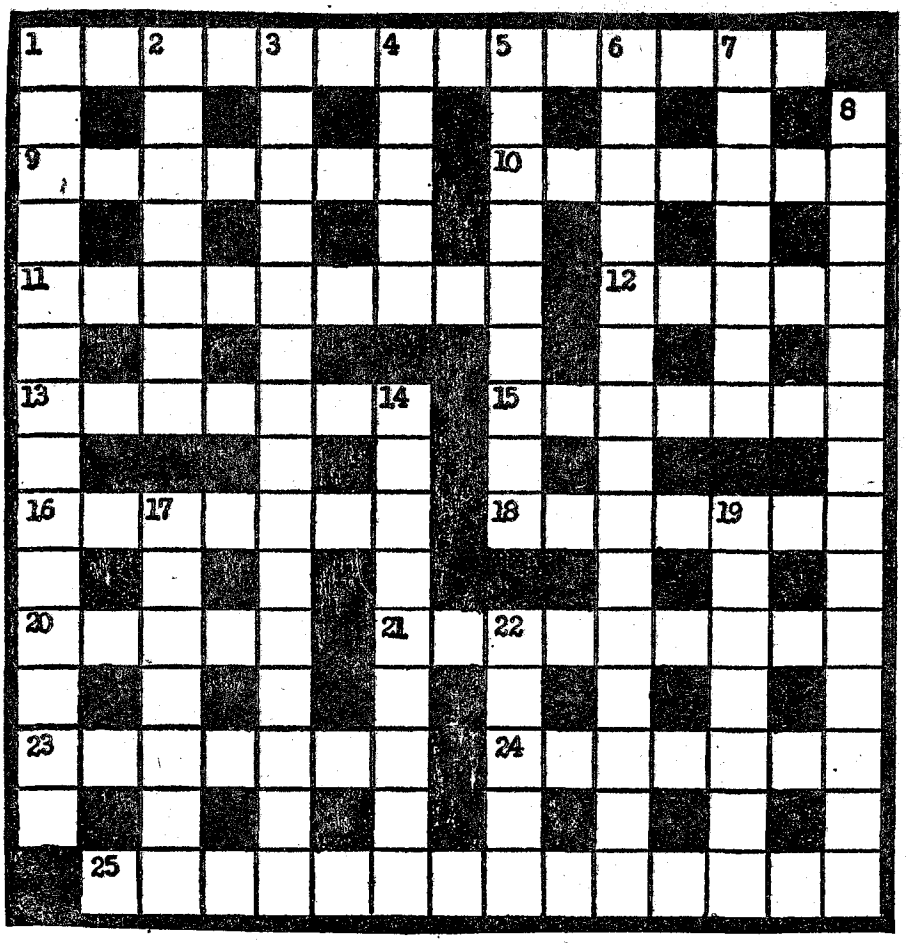
Crossword Puzzle No. 388

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Turn pike (7, 7)
9 This Joe exemplified "quiet waters run deep"?
10 Having a bite in Western Union.
11 Could this pest be a bookworm? (4-5)
12 Released from a seed, with both direct and indirect help.
13 Land at the extreme limits of Australasia.
15 Practiced by one tribe after another.
16 Saviour (Reformed version).
18 Charm.
20 Found in an alcove years ago.
21 To pillage and burn? (5, 4)
23 A strain carved in stone.
24 Leaches a distillation of the city.
25 Neat abductors. (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Scratch for himself, not for Webster! (6, 8)
2 Mars might be connected with them in more than one way!
3 Art you predigest for an old picture producer.
4 Not quite sturdy enough to challenge in the past.
5 Bliss of solitude, according to Wordsworth. (6, 3)
6 Bad little boys might be with the last two words. (3, 5, 3, 4)
7 A bad pipe as a symptom of defective digestion.
8 They are designed to prevent the same shade next day. (6, 4, 4)
14 Positive declaration of British policy?
17 Dante is buried here.
19 The U. S. S. *Erie* put out again, evidently.
22 It's three-cornered with a terrific hump.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 387

ACROSS:—1 SMELLING SALTS; 9 USURP; 10 SACKCLOTH; 11 RECOILS; 12 IRON AGE; 13 SLANG; 14 WHIMSICAL; 16 OBEISANCE; 18 BRAGG; 19 TAPROOM; 21 CHARIOT; 22 RAINMAKER; 23 KHAKI; 24 UNDERSTANDING.

DOWN:—1 SQUARE SHOOTERS; 2 ENUNCIATE; 3 LAPWING; 4 NOSES; 5 SACRIFICE; 6 LICTORS; 7 SKODA; 8 SHEET LIGHTNING; 14 WANAMAKER; 15 CHARIVARI; 17 STORMED; 18 BRACKEN; 20 POILU; 21 CARET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Letters to the Editors

"Colorado Three" on Trial

Dear Sirs: At the beginning of November the United States Supreme Court will hear an appeal on the case of the "Colorado Three." Since it is the first case involving political citations of contempt which the court has agreed to review, it will have grave repercussions throughout the country.

The three defendants—Mrs. Jane Rogers, Irving Blau, and myself, Patricia Blau—were among seven Denverites called before a federal grand jury in September, 1948, and questioned as to their political beliefs. They stood on their constitutional right to silence as guaranteed in the First Amendment and were thereupon charged with contempt of court by Judge J. Foster Symes of the federal District Court, having been denied a jury trial. They were sentenced to terms of four months to one year.

The point of law at issue far outweighs in importance the fate of the individuals involved. The question is: Does the government have the right to compel disclosure of political opinion and association?

It was for protection against exactly such Star Chamber proceedings that our ancestors wrote the Bill of Rights, as witness United States Supreme Court Justice Black:

> The founders of this government wanted . . . to erect barriers that would bar legislators from passing laws that encroached on the domain of belief and that would, among other things, strip courts and all public officers of a power to compel people to testify against themselves.

The Court of Appeals has pointed out that "there is much in the record warranting the conclusion that the purpose of the investigation . . . was to unearth the activities of the Communist Party of Colorado rather than to unearth violations of 18 U. S. C. as stated in the presentments." It further said that "the proceedings before the trial court were in some manner irregular and leave much to be desired."

Mrs. Roosevelt said recently in *McCall's Magazine* that "one's political beliefs, like one's religious beliefs, should not be questioned." Yet we three who are guilty of no crime must return to jail if the Supreme Court decides against us.

Mrs. Rogers has three small children

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and is expecting a fourth. My husband and I have two children. It is not, however, because I am afraid to spend a year in jail that I appeal to your readers to write in our behalf to President Truman and Attorney General McGrath. The annals of history are filled with the names of people who have been unjustly jailed. I *am* afraid of what is happening in our America today, when political inquisitions are being shamelessly launched in violation of all our traditions.

If this assault is successful, fear will inhabit the hearts and minds of all, and no man or woman will be secure in his or her beliefs.

MRS. IRVING BLAU

Denver, Col., October 30

No Remilitarization!

Dear Sirs: The German public has just been shocked by the news that America plans the remilitarization of Germany on a compulsory basis. Even staunch friends of the United States voice their indignation at this outright breach of promise and this planned violation of our constitutional rights. Only a few days ago German newspaper polls showed clearly that no less than 73 per cent of the German people are against remilitarization, and that no less than 84 per cent would refuse to serve in a new German army.

Why is the German people's desire for peace and good-will ignored abroad? Why are the dictates of Adenauer and his clerical backers accepted as *faits accomplis?* Our constitution, as provided by the Allies, promises freedom from military service and freedom from force. Are we to accept another reign of terror now? We all know that a new Prussian militarism will end in new Nazi terrorism.

OSCAR C. PFAUS

Hamburg, Germany, October 27

Books for CARE

Dear Sirs: War-time bombings took a tremendous toll of overseas libraries. And even in countries that escaped destruction book collections have been rendered obsolete by the scientific advances of the past decade. Now, lack of dollars prevents countries East and West from buying the new books so easily available here. It is because of this that CARE, with Unesco and State Department cooperation, has launched a Book Fund Program to use dollar contributions from Americans to provide the latest and best scientific and technical works for universities, schools, and libraries in war-depleted and underdeveloped countries.

Since the program was introduced a little over a year ago, CARE has delivered $1,000,000 worth of new textbooks and reference works to 378 educational institutions in 24 countries of Europe and Asia. This represents 50,000 new books and periodicals, bought in consultation with a bibliography committee of leading American librarians and scientists according to specific requests from the beneficiaries. But this is no more than an encouraging beginning toward meeting the vast need. The response clearly shows that CARE book gifts, no less than CARE food and textile packages, are received with overwhelming gratitude. The head of the Medical School of the University of Tohoku in Sendai, Japan, summed it up very simply recently when he told CARE: "Books are our food."

Contributions in any amount may be sent to the Book Fund at any local CARE office or to 20 Broad Street, New York 5, N. Y. It is a direct, person-to-person way of providing food for hungry minds.

PAUL COMLY FRENCH,
Executive Director, CARE

New York, November 2

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